

## NOTES ON THE WORK OF THE BYZANTINE INSTITUTE IN ISTANBUL: 1955-1956

PAUL A. UNDERWOOD

AS the restoration of the mosaics and frescoes in the Kariye Camii progressed, some alarming structural failures in the fabric of the building came to light which required attention if the building and the works of art that cover the surfaces of its vaults and walls were to be preserved. The generally shabby condition of the interior, where mosaics, marble revetments, and frescoes no longer existed, became so conspicuous and detracted so greatly from the inherent beauties of the building and its decoration that it was felt necessary not only to undertake the consolidation of the fabric, but also to deal with the interior as a whole. Accordingly, all extraneous plaster was removed from the walls and vaults in the building wherever the mosaics, frescoes, or marbles had been lost. It was decided to clean the masonry in these parts, carry out whatever structural repairs and rebuilding were necessary, and repair the pointing of the masonry by carefully matching the mortar and pointing techniques of the original. The appearance of the masonry, now that this work has been done, is pleasing in color and texture, and complements in a very satisfactory manner the richness of the mosaics and the marble revetments which have also been cleaned and polished by hand.

This program at the Kariye Camii was not undertaken solely for aesthetic reasons. It was a logical extension of the architectural and archaeological survey inaugurated in 1954,<sup>1</sup> the aim of which

was to record and study the structural history of the building insofar as that is possible. In this connection, it was found desirable also to remove certain extraneous masonry fills that had blocked up a number of openings, and this led to several minor, but surprising, discoveries, which are described below.

The restoration of the original system of tie-beams, as one means of reinforcing the building, has now been completed.<sup>2</sup> Continuous steel rods, set in concrete, now fill the long channels at cornice level within the lengths of the walls where the original oak beams had rotted, and provision has been made for fitting steel tie-rods across the spans of all transverse arches in the two narthexes, the Parecclesion, and the nave. All broken arches in the narthexes and the nave have been consolidated and made homogeneous by a process of removing all loose and broken brick voussoirs and replacing them with ancient bricks of the same types and dimensions as the originals. One of the two arches that span the Parecclesion, and on which the dome rests, was successfully reconstructed in 1956 and the second arch will be similarly treated in 1957.

The prothesis and diaconicon that flank the main apse of the church have long been in a condition of extreme disrepair. The prothesis to the north of the main apse was restored during the season of 1956. Figure 3 illustrates its external condition before restoration, and Figure 4 as it appeared when the restoration was nearing completion. The masonry facing of the entire left (south) facet of

<sup>1</sup> See P. A. Underwood, "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1954," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10 (Cambridge, Mass., 1955-1956), p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 298.

the polygonal exterior of the apsidiole (fig. 3) had fallen away, and this was refaced in the same system of alternate bands of cut stone and brick that was characteristic of the fourteenth-century masonry with which the prothesis had been built. A large part of the semi-dome and most of the central facet of the apse (semi-circular internally, polygonal exteriorly) had collapsed and had been filled with crude masonry and a single window. In removing these extraneous fills, indisputable evidence came to light that the original fenestration of the little apse consisted of a triple-arched window with two mullions. Sufficient evidence of the caps and bases, and of their correct positions, existed to permit the accurate reconstruction of the window, as illustrated in Figure 4. The fluted dome over the prothesis itself had been shattered, but still stood, and almost all of its frescoes had fallen. The fissures in the dome were grouted from the exterior and a thin reinforced concrete shell was poured over it as a means of consolidating it and rendering it impervious to seepage of water. Work of a similar nature has now begun in the diaconicon to the south of the main apse.

Figure 1 illustrates the condition of the vaults and tympanum in the south side of the nave before the plaster had been removed. It will be noted that the windows in the alternate flutes of the drum of the dome had been filled and their existence concealed by plaster. After the plaster was removed all windows in the drum were opened. It was found that the masonry of the drum was typical fourteenth-century work of the period of Theodore Metochites, exactly like that in the walls of the narthexes and Parecclesion which were also among the alterations and additions made by him. The dome cornice is also his, for at the four points on the cross axes there are carved bosses which bear monograms in relief referring to him. The boss at the east gives his name ( $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\delta\omega\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ), that at

the west his surname ( $\text{Μετοχίτης}$ ); at the north is his title as "founder" of the monastery ( $\kappa\tau\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\rho$ ), and at the south the title of his imperial office ( $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\theta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma$ ). These recapitulate the inscription that appears beside his portrait in the mosaic in the esonarthex above the main door to the nave. The cornice and the bosses had been heavily encrusted with whitewash, and when this was removed not only did the monograms become legible, but fragments of gesso were discovered on which were painted ornaments resembling those found on other painted cornices of the fourteenth century in the narthexes and the Parecclesion.

The masonry in the zone of the vaults of the nave, between the cornice at the spring line of the arches and the cornice of the dome, was found to be of the type prevalent in Constantinople during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is characterized by false mortar joints (fig. 2) which are approximately three times the thickness of the brick courses. The alternate brick courses are recessed and covered by the pointing mortar that is nearly flush with the projecting brick courses. The wide pointing is then scored in horizontal lines slightly above and below the exposed brick courses. It is clear, therefore, that, of the superstructure of the nave, this zone, at least, represents part of the rebuilding carried out in the late eleventh century by Maria Ducaena, mother-in-law of Alexius I, Comnenus.

In Figure 1 the windows in the tympanum appear to be separated from one another as though each were an independent opening in the wall. Removal of the plaster, however, showed that in their eleventh-century form they composed a single, triple-arched opening whose stilted arches rested on two impost capitals and thin marble mullions (fig. 2). The Turkish brick masonry that encased the mullions and capitals was removed and the eleventh- and fourteenth-century forms of the window are now restored. In the eleventh century the

window was considerably taller, for it became evident also that when Theodore Metochites added the Parecclesion along the south side of the nave, he was forced to block up the lower parts of the window (see fig. 1) in order to accommodate the abutment of the vaults of the structure along the south side which extended above the level of the original sill. The triple window in the west tympanum, where much the same situation existed, has also been restored to its eleventh- and fourteenth-century forms. The fourteenth-century narthex, along this side, seems to be higher than the earlier one which it replaced, and here again Metochites' builders were forced to raise the level of the sill by filling in the lower part of the window. Removal of the plaster in the north tympanum showed that in the eleventh century it, like the others, contained a triple window. Most of this window was blocked up in the fourteenth century when the existing two story addition along the north side of the church was built.

Theodore Metochites, however, had the eleventh-century capitals of the south window decorated on the fronts with painted crosses and on the sides with his names and titles. Viewed from the west (fig. 2), his name and surname can be read on the western faces of the caps, and, from the east, his titles as "founder" and "logothete" on the eastern faces.

In the course of work on the structure of the church, it has become evident that a number of important personages, members of the imperial and noble families of Constantinople, received burial within its walls. The Parecclesion, it is quite certain, was built and decorated for this purpose, and in its construction four arcosolia were provided, which served as enclosures for sarcophagi, and as niches where portraits of the deceased and other suitable images could be placed. Two of these arcosolia are in the south wall beneath the two tympana, and two cor-

respond to them in the north wall. The sarcophagi, which filled the lower parts of the recesses, have long since disappeared. The original function of the two arcosolia in the north wall has not been recognized, for the masonry in the back of the one in the north side of the western bay was destroyed, in Turkish times, and the niche was converted into a passageway connecting the Parecclesion with the nave. This passageway supplemented the original one, which is very narrow and lies parallel to it at the west. The face of the arch and its spandrels are covered by richly ornamented and painted marble reliefs which contain the bust of Christ above the center of the arch and the archangels Michael and Gabriel in the triangular spandrels. The heads of these figures have been destroyed. The second niche, in the north wall of the eastern bay, had lost whatever painting or mosaic it may have contained, but it was never decorated with carved marble reliefs. Its use as a tomb is attested by the presence of cuttings in the masonry, in the lower part of the niche, to accommodate the front panel and the lid of a sarcophagus. Similar cuttings have been found in all four arcosolia. Of the two monuments in the south wall, one is the tomb of members of the Tornikes family. The sculptured facing and epitaph above this arcosolium have been published several times. It is situated in the western bay, and its arch and spandrels are decorated by marble reliefs very similar to those that face it in the north wall. In the eastern bay the paintings in the upper part of the arcosolium of the south wall have always been visible, and these, too, have been published. Near the end of the season of 1956 four more tombs, hitherto unknown, were discovered in the walls of the inner and outer narthexes. The one in the inner narthex was built against the wall at the north end (the full width of the narthex), where it projected into the space beneath the north dome. Evidences of three

tombs have been found in the west wall of the outer narthex in what had originally been windows that extended almost to the level of the floor. These three windows had been formed into burial niches by the insertion of curtain walls in the exterior sides of the openings. No thorough study has yet been made of the remains of these eight tombs and the following statements are to be regarded as entirely tentative, made solely for the purpose of providing general information.

Above the sculptured marble spandrels of the tomb in the south wall of the western bay of the Parecclesion is the epitaph which records the burial therein of one of the members of the Tornikes family.<sup>3</sup> The Tornikes, whose fame is celebrated in extravagant terms in the inscription, is stated to have held the rank of Grand Constable. In addition to an allusion to his own royal lineage, there is an inference that through his marriage he had again achieved royal kinship. At the time of his death, as is also stated, he was a poor monk. The Tornikes who was Grand Constable and related to the imperial family, is identified by Cantacuzenos<sup>4</sup> as Michael, a relative, through his mother, of the emperor Andronicus II.<sup>5</sup> It is not clear that Tornikes is identifiable

as Michael Asan, nephew of Andronicus II, who was prominent in events of 1327 and 1328,<sup>6</sup> but he is certainly not to be confused with the Michael Comnenus Tornikes Asan Palaeologos who married a granddaughter of Theodora who was a niece of the Emperor Michael VIII.<sup>7</sup> It seems likely that Tornikes chose the Monastery of the Chora as the place for his burial because of his friendship with the Grand Logothete, Theodore Metochites, with whom he served as counselor to Andronicus II on the subject of the latter's relations with Andronicus III. The Parecclesion at the Chora, only recently completed by Metochites, provided a suitable place for Tornikes' tomb.

Early photographs show that the interior of the arcosolium of Tornikes was screened from view by a Turkish wall, built flush with the face of the arch, and

<sup>3</sup> Cantacuzenus, I, pp. 234, 260, 285 (Bonn ed.); Gregoras, I, pp. 394, 396, 409, 411, 413 (Bonn ed.). In none of these passages is the name Tornikes or the title Grand Constable used.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Comnenus Tornikes Asan Palaeologos and his wife Eirene Comnene Cantacuzene Palaeologina Asanina (granddaughter of Theodora Palaeologina) are portrayed on folio 9<sup>r</sup> of ms. gr. 35 of Lincoln College, Oxford, now in the Bodleian Library. In this manuscript of the typicon of the Monastery of the Theotokos τῆς βεβαίας Ἐλπίδος (founded by Theodora Palaeologina, the grandmother of the young Eirene) this Michael is depicted as a beardless youth. H. Delehay, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), p. 148, shows, on internal evidence, that the typicon was composed well after 1310, while R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, III (Paris, 1953), p. 168, believes it was not composed before 1345. This evidence, and the fact that Michael Tornikes was a trusted counselor to Andronicus II, and Grand Constable in the years about 1320, indicate that Guiland (*loc. cit.*) was mistaken in taking over the name of the grand son-in-law of Theodora and giving it to the Grand Constable (Theodora's contemporary). Papadopoulos, on the other hand, must be in error in saying that the youthful husband of Eirene Asanina (No. 21) was Michael (No. 45), the eldest son of Ivan III Asan, whose younger brother, Andronicus (No. 46), was despot of Morea as early as 1316.

<sup>5</sup> The spandrel and epitaph are reproduced, and the inscription is transcribed, in A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople* (London, 1912), pl. 92 and p. 330. The sculptured facing of its counterpart in the north wall is illustrated in pl. 87. See also A. Rüdell, *Die Kairie-Dschamisi in Constantinopel* (Berlin, 1908), pl. 13; Th. I. Schmit, *Kakhrie-dzhami* (Sofia, 1906) = *Izvestiya russkago arkheologicheskago instituta v Konstantinopole*, XI, Album, pl. 83.

<sup>6</sup> I, p. 54, Bonn ed.

<sup>7</sup> Although Cantacuzenus (*loc. cit.*) does not define the relationship, it is, perhaps, this statement that led R. Guiland ("Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. Le Grand Connétable," *Byzantion* 19 [1949], p. 107) to identify the Grand Constable Tornikes with the eldest son of Eirene Palaeologina and the Bulgarian Tsar, Ivan III Asan, who married in 1278. In A. Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen* (Munich, 1938), Eirene is listed as No. 44 (pp. 27, f.) and her son as No. 45 (p. 28).

that in this screen wall were two doors.<sup>8</sup> About 1945 the wall was removed in the course of some repairs made by the museum authorities and some badly damaged mosaics and frescoes were brought to light in the soffit of the arch and in the upper part of the tympanum at the back of the niche (figs. 5-7).

It is clearly evident that the soffits and the back of the niche had been decorated originally in mosaic alone as far down as the level of the lid of the sarcophagus. In the back of the niche, however, areas of the mosaic at the extreme left and right were either severely damaged or deliberately destroyed, and in these two places the mosaics were replaced by two figures painted on plaster whose edges irregularly overlap an area of mosaic in the center (fig. 5). In the top center of the tympanum the mosaic and its setting bed has been lost, thus exposing the second rendering of plaster, but below this are the remains, in mosaic tesserae, of the upper part of the figure of the Virgin and Christ child, the latter posed frontally with hands extended at each side (Blachernitissa). The fresco figure at the right is preserved above the level of the knees, but was, without doubt, a full length figure of one of the deceased. The head, shoulders, and arms were painted over with the same yellow ochre paint that was used to obscure the flesh parts of figures in the mosaics and frescoes throughout the Kariye Camii. The features, however, are sufficiently visible to warrant the statement that the figure represents a female clad in civil garb consisting of a tight-sleeved dress of a dark red-violet color and a bluish gray headdress which falls over the shoulders where it is edged with a yellow fringe. The remnant of the accompanying figure at the far left, of which only the

bust has survived, represents an elderly man with a long gray beard. He wears a dark red-violet hat which flares out at the top where it is trimmed with a narrow edging of fur, and a black garment which is visible at the shoulders.

In the left side of the arch is the upper part of what had doubtless been a full length figure of a monk (fig. 6). While the gold tesserae of the background have largely disappeared, the black tesserae of the body of the figure, and much of the headdress, are still preserved. Parts of the face have been damaged and most of the head is covered with yellow paint. The beard of the monk is, however, plainly visible. Above him, the inscription, preserved partially in mosaic tesserae and partially in the painting on the setting bed, is clearly legible. Preceded by a small cross, the inscription reads: 'Ο ἀνὸς μοναχὸς Μακάριος. Facing him, in the soffit at the right (fig. 7), is the figure of a nun, preserved almost to the knees. The condition of this mosaic is much like that of Makarios. The nun wears a square-topped headdress covered by a black veil that hangs at the two sides over her shoulders. The inscription, which also begins with a cross, reads: 'Η ἀνὴ μοναχ[ῆ] Εὐγενία. The use of the articles with ἀνὸς proves that Makarios and Eugenia are the same persons who had twice been portrayed in the original mosaic within the niche, once in the soffits, as monk and nun, and again in the back, doubtless in civil garb. The latter figures, having been destroyed, were replaced in fresco. In the summit of the arch is a medallion with inscribed cross which had also been painted out.

It was a very prevalent custom in aristocratic circles, especially in the fourteenth century, for both man and wife to don the monastic habit before the death of either and thus assure themselves of the privilege of burial within the walls of monastic churches. On that occasion each selected a religious name, usually one that began with the same initial let-

<sup>8</sup> Schmit, *op. cit.*, pl. 82, left, and pl. 83; Van Millingen, *op. cit.*, pl. 92. The plan of Rüdell, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, shows that one was an improvised door that pierced the south wall, in the back of the arcosolium, while the smaller door gave access to an improvised cupboard.

ter as his given name. There can be little doubt, then, that Makarios was the religious name chosen by Michael Tornikes and that his wife's name began with an *epsilon*. It has been remarked by Millet<sup>9</sup> that frequently a personage was depicted in a "double portrait," that is, in monastic and civil costumes, side by side. Evidently this was the case in the Tornikes monument where the couple were depicted in civil ceremonial robes in the tympanum, standing at each side of the Virgin and Child, and again, in monastic garb, in the soffits of the arch, the man at the left and the woman at the right.

The sculptured marble facing of the arch and its spandrels was made specifically for the arcosolium and was put in place after the frescoes of the Parecclesion had been finished.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the sculptured facing applied over the arch of the arcosolium in the wall facing that of Tornikes, was likewise made specifically for that niche. The two niches are not of equal dimensions, yet both sculptured facings precisely fit the curvatures of the arches over which they have been applied.<sup>11</sup> The marble facing in the Tornikes monument was already in place

when the mosaics were set in the soffit of the arch, for the plaster edge of the setting bed exactly conforms to the back face of the marble. Furthermore, the background setting bed of the mosaics, while wet, had been painted red, and some of the color appears on the back edge of the marble. The carvings on the faces of the two arcosolia can thus be regarded as examples of early fourteenth-century sculpture.

A description of the painting in the arcosolium to the east of the Tornikes monument was published in 1887 and reproduced in a sketch in 1908,<sup>12</sup> but the niche has not generally been recognized as a mortuary monument (fig. 10). A horizontal channel, cut in the masonry just below the lower border of the painting in the back and sides of the niche, provided support for the lid of the sarcophagus. Presumably on the destruction of the tomb, the channel was filled with small pieces of brick and with mortar. The corners at the two sides of the niche were also cut in the masonry

<sup>9</sup> G. Millet, "Portraits byzantins," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 61 (1911), pp. 445-451. See also Delehay, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Underwood, "Second Preliminary Report on the Restoration of the Frescoes in the Kariye Camii at Istanbul by the Byzantine Institute: 1955," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 189 f., 192, and fig. 23 for evidence that areas of the frescoes in the lunette above the tomb were in part covered over by the epitaph and in part cut away, as was the cornice, to accommodate the monument.

<sup>11</sup> It is strange that Schmit, *op. cit.*, p. 95, should have stated that the two sculptured facings were identical in dimension, that they were dismembered elements taken, as he assumed, from a ciborium which had stood over a hypothetical, free-standing tomb of Tornikes in some other part of the monastery, and that they were merely set up, as decorative and commemorative features, in their present positions in the Parecclesion. Though similar motifs are used in corresponding members of both monuments (cf. Schmit, *op. cit.*, pls. 83 and 84), they are far from identical either in detail or dimension. For example, the top cornice member on the Tornikes monument is .10 m. in

height, while that on its counterpart measures .17 m. The two differ greatly in the technique of the carving of the leaves of the archivolt, etc. Van Millingen, *op. cit.*, p. 310, did not consider the niche to be the place of burial of Tornikes, but suggested, despite the inscription above it, that the niche was intended to receive the tomb of the sebastocrator Isaac Comnenus.

<sup>12</sup> It was first described by Th. Mühlmann, "Die Fresko-Gemälde in der byzantinischen Klosterkirche Chora (heute Kachrije-Dschamissi) in Konstantinopel," *Archiv für kirchliche Kunst*, XI, no. 4 (1887), pp. 26, 27. He describes it as a painting of an imperial family, consisting of two figures of men wearing crowns standing in the center, and two figures of women at the sides. There is no evidence at all for his identification of the crowned figures in the center as Michael VIII and Andronicus II with their wives Theodora and Eirene beside them. A. Rüdell, *op. cit.*, p. 13, questioned this identification and pointed out, correctly, that of the two central figures, the one on the right, wearing a crown, is a woman. His comments are accompanied by a sketch, but the forms he gives the monograms that appeared on the mantle of the figure last mentioned above, should be regarded as merely his tentative impressions of what he saw, though, as is now evident, they are nearly correct (see *infra*, pp. 275, 281, and notes 16 and 33).



in order to accommodate the front slab of the sarcophagus.

The paintings in this arcosolium, both in the soffits and the back, are clearly not the work of the painters who executed the frescoes of the Parecclesion as a whole, but of a somewhat inferior master. This does not necessarily mean that they were executed at a very much later date, for they may have been commissioned of a different painter by the proprietors of the arcosolium soon after the completion of the Parecclesion. The paintings of the niche differ from those above and around them not only in style, but in their use of at least three pigments—vermilion, indigo, and smalt—that appear in the back of the niche and that are not found in the main fresco decorations of the Parecclesion.<sup>13</sup>

In the crown of the arch, within a rectangular panel, is a bust of Christ against a very complicated glory in which are two seraphim. In the soffits at each side are two angels in panels with semi-circular heads set within rectangles. Two square ornamental panels on each side complete the decoration of the soffits down to the line of the top of the sarcophagus.

Of the four figures who stand in the back of the niche, the two in the center are richly attired in vestments of the imperial court, while the two at the far left and right wear what appear to be monastic habits. The male figure to left of center wears a very high headdress which flares out to its greatest width at the top in sharp angles, and thus somewhat resembles that of Tornikes in the back of his burial niche. This figure is more richly garbed than Tornikes, however, since he wears a kind of tunic made of a patterned material which contains the fleur-de-lis

motif in the center of each repeat of the diaper pattern. The colors used in this garment are a grayish blue (smalt), a gray-green, and some drawing in black. Around the waist is a yellow girdle. Over this garment is worn a long green mantle, lined and edged with fur, which hangs at each side from the shoulders to the feet. The figure to the right of center is a woman—doubtless the wife of the man at her right. She, too, wears a headdress shaped like a widely flaring crown which comes to sharp points at the sides in fleurs-de-lis with another fleur-de-lis at the top center.<sup>14</sup> The undergarment, which is exposed in a wide strip down the center between the edges of her mantle, is of a green stuff on which are widely spaced ornaments in yellow. The fur lined mantle,<sup>15</sup> made of a very dark red material, is fastened together at the collar, and was decorated with a pattern of monograms within medallions, arranged in vertical and horizontal rows, linked together by small circles.<sup>16</sup> In the cusped spaces between the medallions are fleurs-de-lis.

The visage of the figure at the far right is definitely that of a woman, and the garments appear to be those of a nun. The inner one of the two garments is painted a light greenish brown. Over this is a mantle of dark brown. Her head and shoulders are covered by a hood of light greenish brown which fits closely around the face, in contrast to the figure at the left whose neck is exposed and adorned with a necklace. Because of the use of "double portraits" in the arcosolium of Tornikes and his wife, one is tempted to identify the nun in the arcosolium un-

<sup>14</sup> The paint here is so badly effaced that this detail is visible only on close inspection.

<sup>15</sup> These details are barely distinguishable in the original painting, and do not appear clearly in photographs.

<sup>16</sup> See the sketch of Rüdell, *loc. cit.*, where the mantle is shown to be covered by a pattern of monograms. As evidence that Rüdell may have been incorrect in some of the details of the monograms, see those on the costume of a figure in one of the tombs of the outer narthex (*infra*, p. 281), which closely resemble those in his sketch.

<sup>13</sup> This information I owe to Mr. John Gettens who has made analyses of large numbers of specimens of the pigments that appear in the paintings at the Kariye Camii. See G. L. Stout and R. J. Gettens, "Wall Paintings at Kariye Camii: Analysis of Materials and Paint Structures" in a forthcoming issue of *Studies in Conservation*.

der discussion here with the crowned lady beside whom she stands. The man to the left of center, however, cannot be identified with the figure beside him at the far left. The latter bears the features of a woman<sup>17</sup> who quite possibly is also attired in the habit of a nun. She wears a dark red-violet dress and a white hood-like headdress that also covers the shoulders in a manner similar to that of the figure at the far right.

The disappearance of all inscriptions makes it difficult to establish both the identity and the number of personages who were buried in this arcosolium. There was only one man, but whether there were actually two or three women is open to question. If, as was suggested above, the woman in court attire were identified with the nun at the far right, the number of women would be reduced to two, but the problem of identification is made more difficult by certain phenomena to be observed in the first three figures from the left. The faces and hands of these three figures are painted on secondary coats of plaster, slightly convex on the surface and giving something of the effect of relief, which were applied after the costumes had been painted. Part of the plaster of one of the hands of the woman to right of center has come away cleanly, and it is evident that the plaster was applied over the green color of the figure's garment. Only the face and hands of the nun at the far right are an integral part of the original painting.

The published plans and sections of the inner narthex show what appeared to be an internal buttress against the wall at the north end.<sup>18</sup> It projected into

the space under the northern dome for a distance of .92 m. and rose to a height of 4.24 m. from the floor, terminating abruptly, without any cornice or coping, a short distance below the cornice of the narthex and the triple window in the northern lunette. The masonry was covered with plaster which had been painted in gray in imitation of the veining of the Proconnesian marble with which the walls of the narthex are mainly revetted. At a height of 2.17 m. from the floor, and spaced 2.27 m. apart from one another, were what appeared to be two marble corbels, each formed of two members, the upper one carved with acanthus foliage in relief, the lower (resembling a square impost capital) with busts of nimbed figures on the three exposed faces. The heads of all but one of these figures had been destroyed.

That this structure was an intrusion in the narthex, added after the walls had been revetted, was obvious from the fact that the masonry had been built against the marble slabs of the revetments of the eastern wall. When the plaster was removed from this wall, it became apparent that the structure was a Byzantine arcosolium whose arched niche had been filled with Turkish masonry on the front face and with loose rubble behind (fig. 8).<sup>19</sup> On removing the uppermost courses of the fill, it was discovered that the soffit of the arch and the back of the niche still retained fragments of their mosaic decoration. It was then decided to remove the entire fill. The niche was found to measure .92 m. in depth, 2.27 m. in width at the imposts of the arch, and 3.79 m. from the floor to the summit of the arch. For a height of 1.18 m. from the floor the width of the niche was decreased to 2.17 m. to provide a shelf at each side, .05 m.

<sup>17</sup> While there is no doubt that the figure is that of a woman, it is not certain that she is dressed in the habit of a nun. The colors of nuns' habits in other tombs at the Kariye Camii are either black or brown.

<sup>18</sup> See Schmit, *op. cit.*, pl. 89 (plan); Rüdell, *op. cit.*, pl. 1 (plan), pls. 7 and 17 (longitudinal

sections of inner narthex); Van Millingen, *op. cit.*, p. 317, fig. 105 (plan), p. 320 (longitudinal section of inner narthex).

<sup>19</sup> Figure 8 was taken after the fill had been removed from the upper part of the niche and after the mosaic fragments had received preliminary cleaning and repairs.





1. Kariye Camii. Vaults and Windows in South Side of Nave. Before restoration



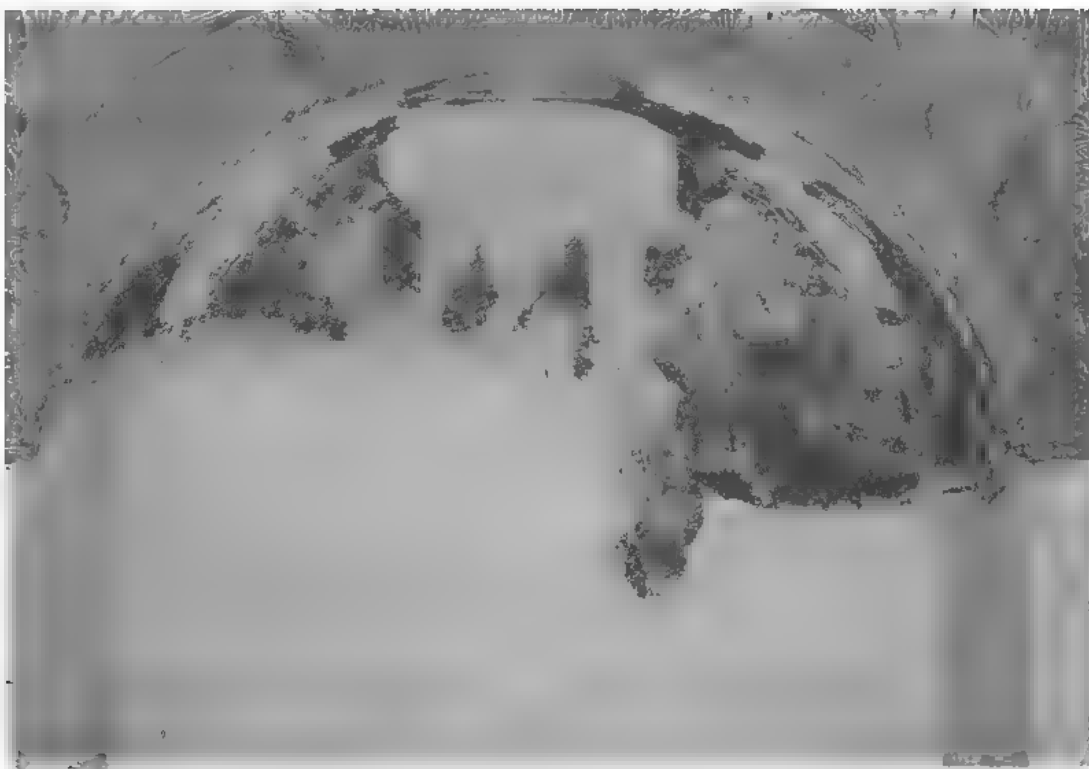
2. Windows and Impost Capitals, South Side of Nave. After restoration



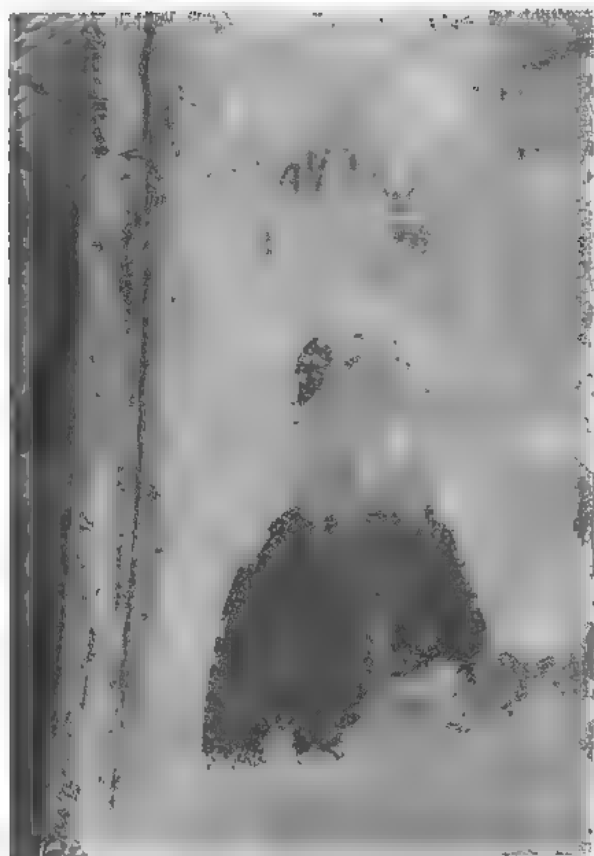
3. Before restoration



4. Restoration nearing completion  
Apse of Prothesis. Exterior



5. Mosaics and Frescoes in upper part



6. The Monk Makarios

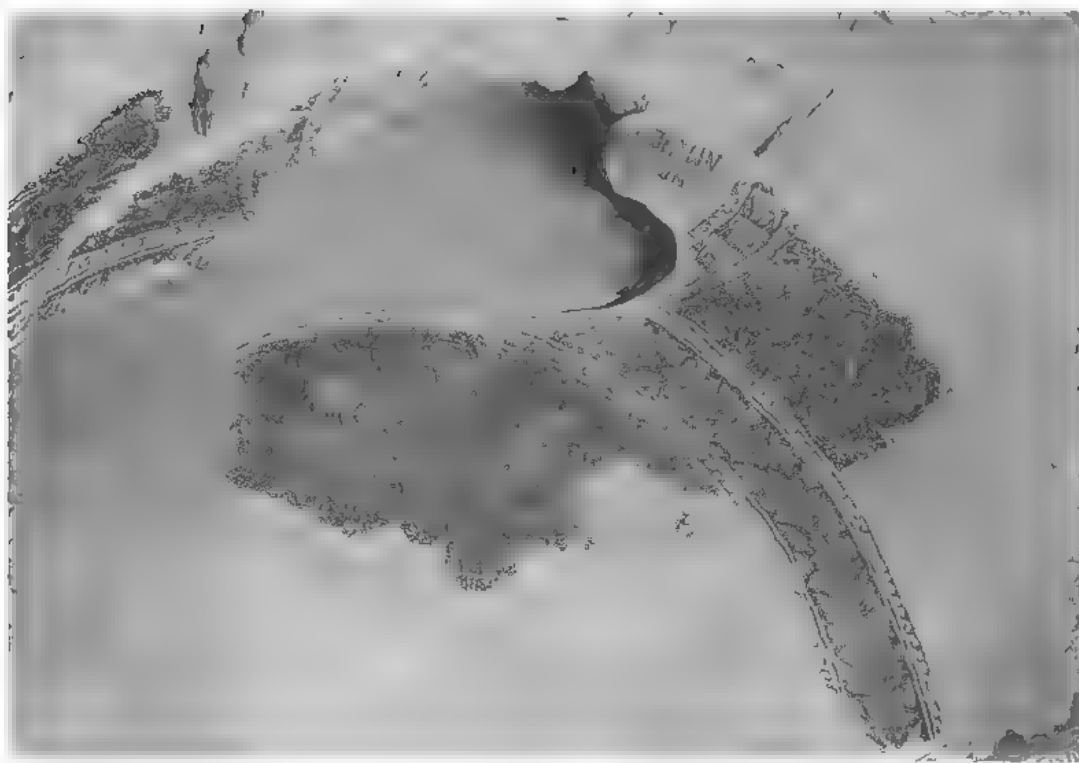


7. The Nun Eugenia

Arcosolium of Michael Tornikes and his wife. Parecclesion. Before restoration

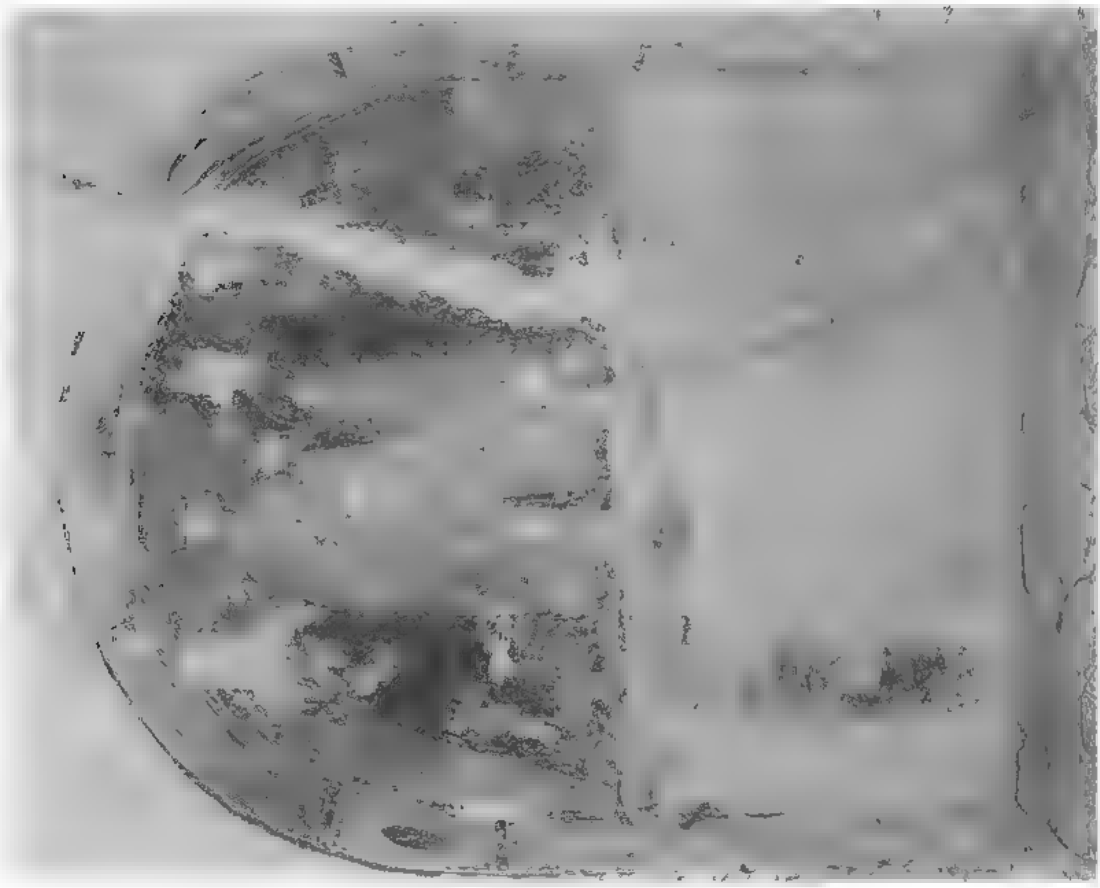


8. Masonry fill partially removed

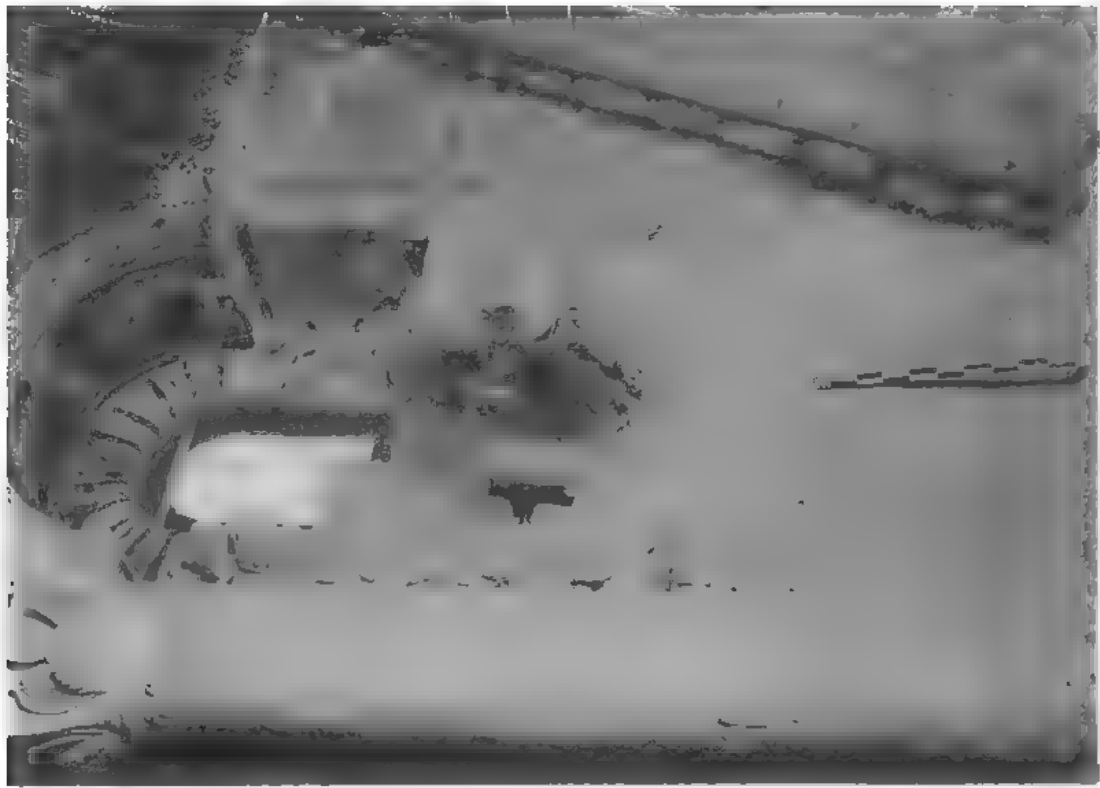


9. Mosaic Fragments

Arcosolium of Demetrius. Inner Narthex. In course of restoration



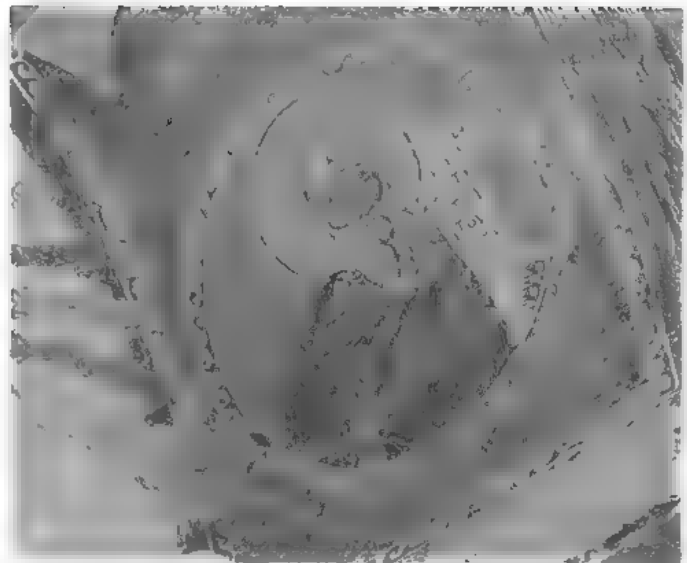
10. Arcosolum with Fresco Portraits. Parecclesion. In course of restoration



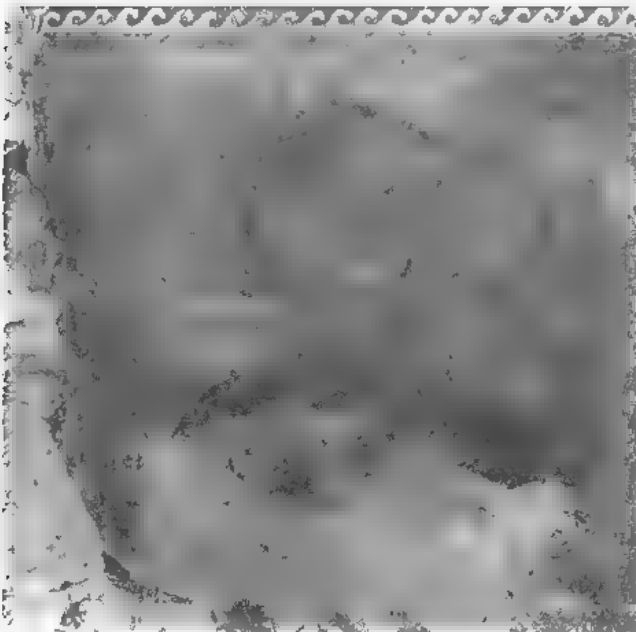
11. Arcosolum in Outer Narthex. Fifth Bay.  
Masonry fill partially removed



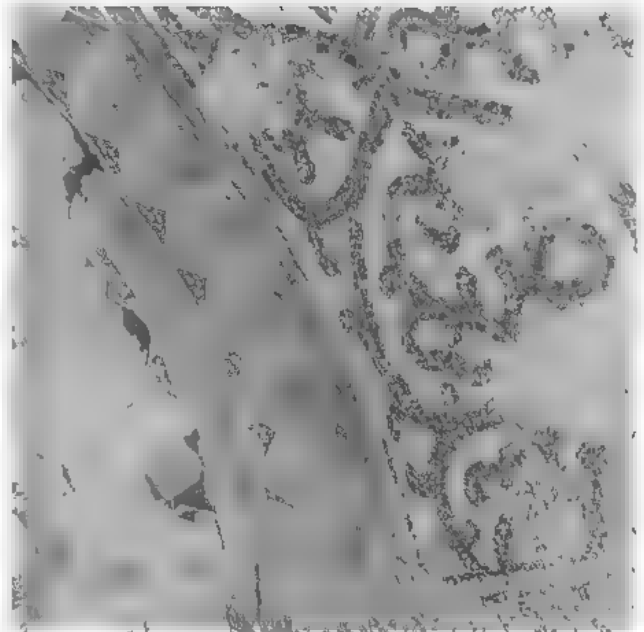
**12. Blachernitissa. Arcosolium in Outer Narthex.  
Fifth Bay. Partially cleaned**



**13. John Damascene. Arcosolium in Outer Narthex.  
Fifth Bay. Partially cleaned**

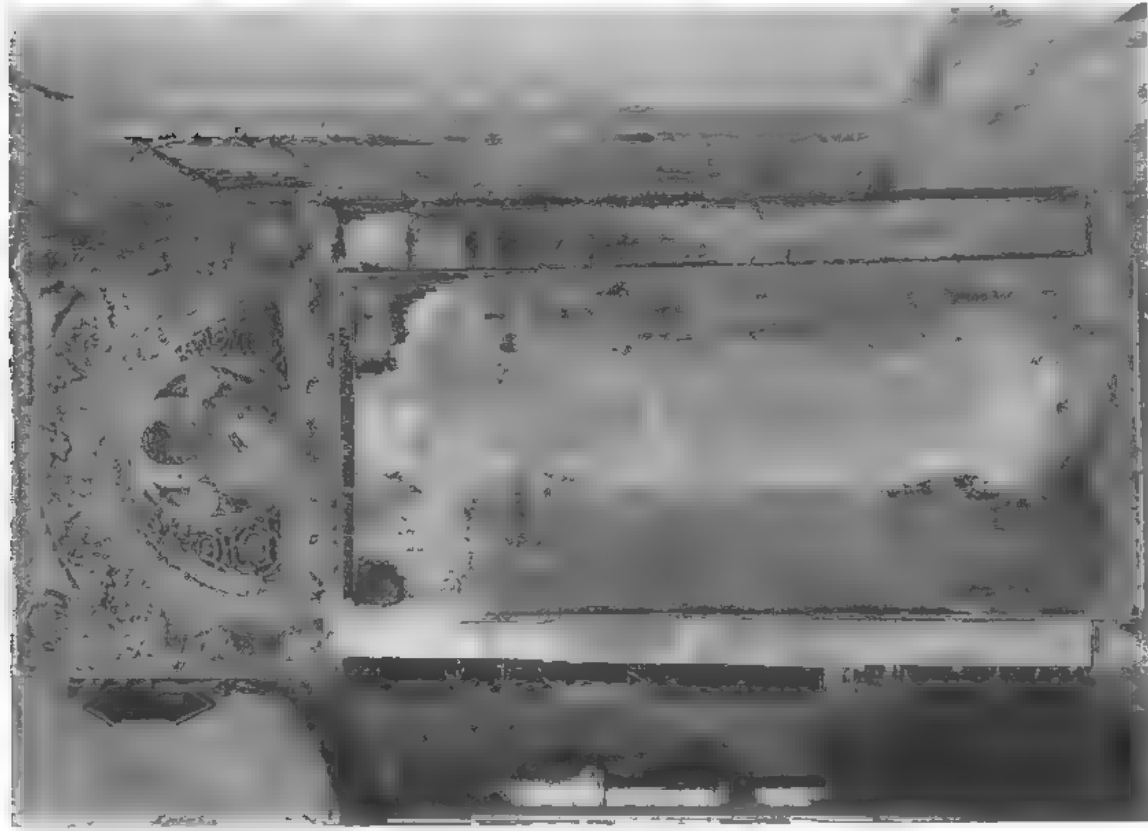


**14. The Nun Athanasia. Arcosolium in Outer Narthex.  
Fifth Bay. Before cleaning**



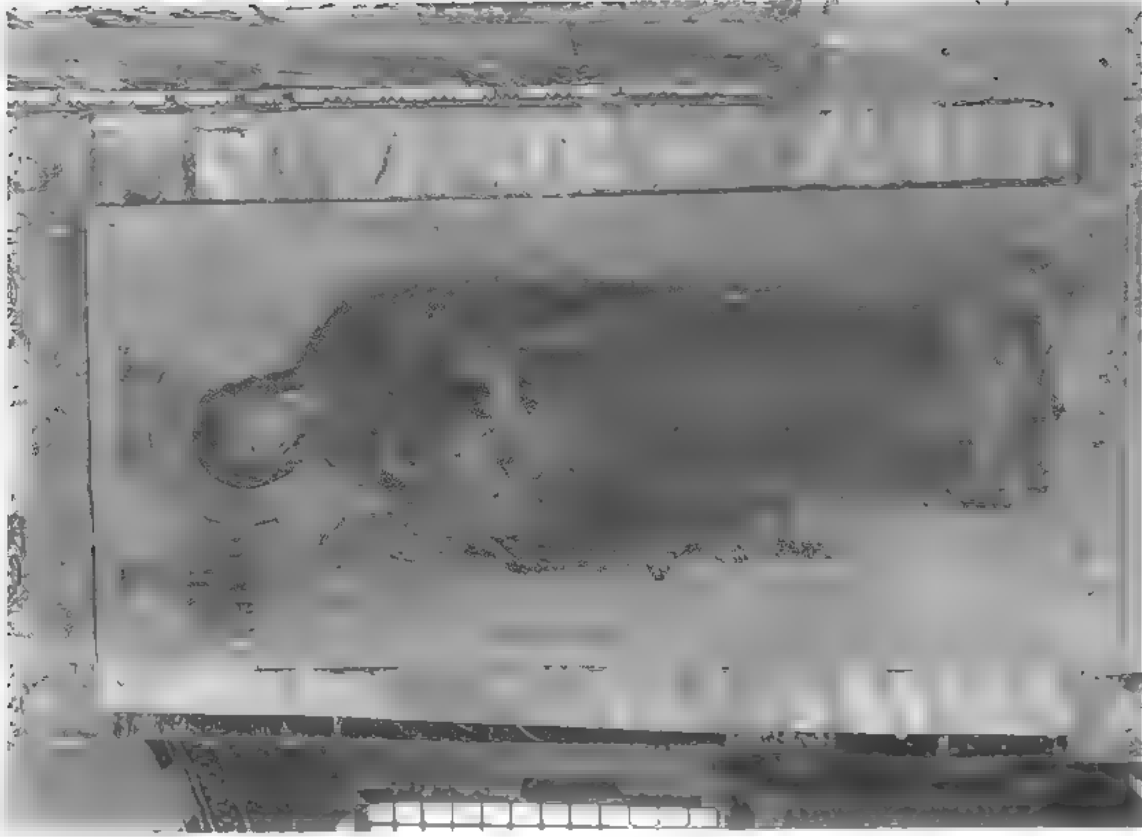
**15. Arcosolium in Outer Narthex. Fourth Bay. Detail  
of Soffit. Before restoration**





16. Before cleaning

Hodegetria. Mosaic on Southeast Pier of Nave



17. After cleaning



18. Deesis. Mosaic. Inner Narthex. Restoration completed

wide, on which, without doubt, the lid of a sarcophagus was originally supported. The brick voussoirs of the facing of the arch are intact, but a portion of the arch, at its crown, is broken and here the voussoirs of the back courses of the arch had fallen, leaving a large hole through the crown and thereby destroying much of the mosaic in the top of the soffit

In the center of the soffit (fig. 9) was a medallion which contained a bust figure of Christ in a mandorla of at least two concentric zones. The figure is inscribed 'Η χείρα τῶν ζώντων. Only the two hands, extended at the sides in a gesture of blessing, and a small segment of the nimbus have survived. It is impossible to say how far down in the soffit of the arch the mosaics originally extended. It is certain, however, that they extended well below the spring line of the arch and that the mosaics covered the carved inner faces of the upper member of the corbels which were imbedded, at the imposts of the arch, the full depth of the niche.<sup>20</sup> That the mosaics extended below the imposts is borne out also by the fact that a rough rendering of plaster, such as was used in preparation for receiving the setting bed of mosaics, still exists, especially in the soffit at the right, from the point where the field of mosaic ornament in the soffit has been broken off to a point about .85 m. below the spring line of the arch. On this rough rendering, precisely at the point where the ornament breaks off in the right-hand soffit, there begins a cartoon sketch of a full-length, standing figure and traces exist in the left-hand soffit of a similar sketch. The cartoon at the right is that of a beardless, nimbed, saint.

The back of the niche was likewise covered with mosaics. These were framed by a foliate border edged at both sides with a narrow wave motif in red and white. The upper part of the mosaics

<sup>20</sup> This fact indicates that the corbels were not made specifically for use in this monument and were quite probably re-used spoils.

in the back are still rather well preserved. In the center, at the top, is a bust of the Virgin in orant pose who is inscribed 'Η ζωοδόχος πηγὴ. At the left, his head in approximate alignment with the bottom of the bust of the Virgin and with the head of the cartoon in the soffit, was the figure of a man. Only the major part of this figure's headdress now exists. The hat, or crown, was originally quite tall and apparently had a semi-circular top. It is outlined in black glass, and within this the ground is red with diagonal lines of gold forming a gridwork of lozenges. One row of pearls surmounts the lower vertical band around the crown. Immediately to the right, most of the first two lines of the inscription that once identified him is preserved. What now remains reads: Δημήτρι[ος Δ(?) ούκας. . . .

The portrait of this personage, named Demetrius,<sup>21</sup> was originally balanced at

<sup>21</sup> Who also bore the name of Doukas and doubtless the names of other illustrious Byzantine families. Among the various Palaeologoi named Demetrius who are listed in A. Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen*, 1259-1453 (Munich Dissertation, 1938), there seem to be only four who might possibly qualify as the person whose fragmentary inscription was found in the mosaics of the arcosolium at the Chora: 1) The despot, Demetrius Palaeologos (Papadopoulos, no. 63), the youngest son of the emperor Andronicus II and Eirene of Montferrat. The close relationship between Andronicus II and his Grand Logothete and staunchest supporter, Theodore Metochites, who styled himself "founder" of the Monastery of the Chora, would make it quite fitting that the emperor's son should seek the privilege of burial at the Chora. Since Demetrius' father, and his elder brother Michael IX, signed their names Andronicus (or Michael) Δούκας "Ἄγγελος Κομνηνὸς ὁ Παλαιολόγος, whenever they gave their full signatures, it is likely that the despot Demetrius also placed the name Doukas immediately after his given name, as was done in the mosaic inscription. Cf. "Actes de l'Athos, Actes de Chilandar" (ed., L. Petit, B. Korabiev), *Vizantijski Vremennik*, 17 (1910), pp. 35, 38, 39, 59; "Actes de Philotheou" (ed., W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korabiev), *op. cit.*, 20 (1913), pp. 9, 13, 16; "Actes de Zographou" (ed., W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korabiev), *op. cit.*, 13 (1907), p. 31. The despot Demetrius was born after 1294. The last known date associated with his life is 1340 when his daughter Eirene was married in Thessalonika to Matthew Canta-

the right by the portrait of another person, in all probability his wife. A small, roughly-oval, fragment of the headdress of this figure survives in an isolated piece of mosaic at the right. What now remains strongly suggests a jeweled crown with serrated upper edge. It contains lines in red, a gold ground, an oval at the left outlined in light green cubes surrounded by a row of white stones, and five or six large white stones which represent pearls. Unfortunately, the inscription is lost except for a very few tesserae which thus far have suggested no interpretation.

Beneath the bust of the Virgin is another inscription of at least four lines, which can be tentatively transcribed as follows: Ζωῆς σὺ πατρὶς ὡς| . . . μῦ (?)  
λόγον· Δημήτ[ριος] ἔργωε (P) σὸς| . . .  
πρόθω . . .<sup>22</sup>

The façade of the Kariye Camii<sup>23</sup> is composed asymmetrically, owing to the addition of the Parecclesion along the south side of the nave and the extension of the outer narthex toward the south to include the width of the Parecclesion. Consequently, the entrance doorway, which is placed very nearly on the axis of the nave, was distinctly off center with respect to the façade, and was flanked by two tall windows to the north, and three, of similar proportions, to the south.<sup>24</sup> All

five windows, extending almost to the floor of the narthex, had been blocked up save for very small, pointed openings of obvious Turkish construction placed near the centers of the fills, but with their sills at a height of about 2.75 m. above the floor of the narthex (see fig. 11). On the exterior, the original windows were centered within arcades and were a little narrower, and about one meter lower, than the blind arches of the arcades. The tops of the windows were in approximate horizontal alignment with the arched opening of the door, which, of course, had never been filled.

One puzzling feature of the façade has been the pieces of cut stone masonry, resembling broad, low buttresses which seemed to project from, or to be applied over, the lower parts of three of the windows, namely, those of the second, fourth, and fifth bays. These pieces of masonry reached the level of the sills of the small Turkish windows.

When the plaster was removed from the walls within the outer narthex<sup>25</sup> the outlines of the original window openings, and the masonry fill within them, became visible. Their arches, on the interior, sprang from the level of the broken cornice of the west wall of the narthex. One could see that the cornice turned to penetrate the thickness of the wall (fig. 11). It was evident that in each case the mosaics above and around the arches turned and disappeared into the filled soffits of the windows. The arch of the window in the fifth bay of the narthex (the second bay to the south of the entrance, illustrated in fig. 11), had a narrow band of Byzantine fresco ornament which was placed concentrically within the mosaic border of the arch. This seemed to indicate a later reinforcing archivolt within the original arch.

what apart, near the center of the end pavilion that masks the south bay of the outer narthex, and formed a terminal element at that end of the façade.

<sup>25</sup> The walls of the narthex had lost almost all their revetments.

cuzenus. 2) The second Demetrius, among the possible candidates, was the son of Eirene and Matthew (Papadopoulos, no. 64), and grandson of the despot Demetrius. Nothing seems to be known about him. 3) Demetrius, the Great Domestic, a close relative of John V, Palaeologos, who died after 1375 (Papadopoulos, no. 135). Finally, 4) Demetrius Palaeologos Doukas Aprenos (Papadopoulos, no. 134), who flourished at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries and of whom little is known. For the form of his name, cf. *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, II (ed. F. Miklosich, J. Müller), p. 403.

<sup>22</sup> "Thou art the fountain of life [in as much as thou art] the Mother [?] of the Logos. Demetrius am I, thy . . . [in my] love. . . ."

<sup>23</sup> See Rüdell, *op. cit.*, pl. 4 (measured drawing); Schmit, *op. cit.*, pl. 69; Van Millingen, *op. cit.*, pl. 81, opp. p. 288.

<sup>24</sup> The southernmost window was set some-

In order to insert the steel reinforcing rod through the channel that ran the full length of the western wall of the narthex above the cornice, it became necessary to remove the upper part of the fill on the interior side of each window, and thus gain access to the openings into the channel within the soffits of the arches. Once this was done, the history of the windows became evident. An additional, and unforeseen result of this work was the discovery of three wall tombs that had been built within the reveals of the three windows marked by the low, projecting, masonry fills on the façade.

In converting the three windows into *arcosolia*, the Byzantine masons constructed curtain walls of cut stone to fill the exterior sides of the openings, thus forming three niches in the west wall of the narthex. To accommodate sarcophagi of necessary width within the limited thickness of the wall, the exterior faces of the curtain walls were permitted to jut out beyond the surface plane of the façade. Later, when the church was converted to use as a mosque, the upper parts of the Byzantine fills were knocked out and the present, small, pointed windows were constructed flush with the exterior surface of the tympana of the arcades. The sills of these windows, however, were placed upon the undestroyed part of the Byzantine fills which were left standing, and now have the appearance of projecting buttresses. At the same time, the Turkish masons constructed cut stone walls flush with the interior plane of the west wall of the narthex, and thus concealed the existence of the *arcosolia* from within the narthex. Loose rubble was thrown in between the outer and interior curtain walls. The two end windows of the narthex (bays one and six), which apparently had never been converted into *arcosolia*, were blocked up, in Turkish times, and small windows, like the others, were let in through the thickness of the fills.

At the present writing, only the tomb

in the fifth bay from the north has been sufficiently opened to permit comment upon its treatment. The other two have been examined, below the level of the cornice, only to establish the fact that their low, projecting fills on the exterior were also the truncated back walls of Byzantine *arcosolia* and that their inner faces, below the sills of the Turkish windows, still retain traces of Byzantine painting. The following comments on the first of these three tombs are incomplete and subject to correction in a subsequent publication of the "Notes," when a more definitive presentation of all three tombs can be made.

In constructing the tomb in the fifth bay (figs. 11-14), the builders lined the mosaic soffit of the original window with a simple archivolt, made of cut stone *voussoirs*, the face of which measures .26 m. in width. This archivolt rests on the overhang of the return cornice (fig. 11). The soffit and the face of this secondary arch were plastered and painted in fresco. On the face of the arch is a band of painted ornament which has always been exposed. The soffit contains a bust of the Virgin and Child (*Blachernitissa*) within a cusped mandorla (fig. 12). The Virgin wears a blue tunic, visible only in the sleeves, and a dark, red-violet *maphorion*. The Christ Child is clad in a green *chiton* over which is the *himation* of red. The field of the mandorla is light blue bordered by two bands of light bluish green, each bordered by white lines. In the four cusps of the mandorla, half figures of seraphim peer out from behind it.

In the soffit, at each side of the Virgin, are two medallions, each containing a bust figure against a red background. The medallion at the right (fig. 13) depicts St. John Damascene holding an inscribed scroll. He wears a mantle of dark violet. The sleeve of his tunic is yellow on the exterior, and red within. The turban is green with bands and folds

of white and yellow, and with four cross stripes on the bands in red-violet.

In the left side of the arch, the second medallion contains the bust of St. Cosmas.<sup>26</sup> His mantle is light green, while his tunic and hood are blue with red-violet shadows. The medallions and the edges of the soffit are bordered by a narrow wave motif in red on a field of white. The background of the soffit itself is in two colors: green half way up the medallions, and black above those points.

The marble revetments that originally must have covered the masonry in the jambs of the windows, below the cornice, had been removed, and the masonry in these places was plastered to receive the portraits of two persons, presumably the deceased. In the jamb at the right (fig. 14) there was painted the portrait of a nun whose religious name was Athanasia. While the inscription to the left of the head is extremely faint, it is at least partially legible. The four lines that are legible read: Ἐκοιμήθη ἡ δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ [A] θανασία [a]. The inscription continued on the right side of the head, but this is now so indistinct that only the word *μνη* [χῆ(?)]] can be traced out when the painting is moistened.

The painting of the nun has not been cleaned at present writing. Consequently, the yellow paint with which the head had been covered still obscures her features. She wore a black headdress that covered all but the face and came down over her shoulders. Below this, her garment was brown with drawing in black. In all probability, the figure was painted full length, although the masonry fill still covers the lower parts of the figure.

In the opposite jamb, in the left side of the arcosolium, was another figure, corresponding to Athanasia, who was also dressed in monastic garb. This figure,

probably a monk and husband of Athanasia, has suffered extreme effacement. The inscription to the left of the head is not at all legible, and as this is the side that would, in all probability, have given his religious name, all evidence of his identity is now lost. Of the inscription to the right of the head, only a few isolated characters are at all visible, and these are of no assistance.<sup>27</sup>

In order to determine the nature of the interior face of the buttress-like exterior fill, below the Turkish window, a number of stones of the interior fill were removed in a strip down the center to a distance of about two meters below the cornice level (see fig. 11). This provided positive proof that the masonry was the remains of the back of the arcosolium, for on this wall there appeared the painting of the lower parts of two standing figures attired in vestments of the imperial court. The bottom of the panel in which they were painted was reached at 1.72 m. below cornice level and the figures must have stood at about the same level as Athanasia. Here, a narrow horizontal border was exposed. It consists of the same red wave motif on a field of white that was used in the soffit above the cornice and in the reveals below the cornice. This motif has below it a solid red band .053 m. wide, then, a narrower white band about half that width. Below that, there begins a greenish gray ground that continues downward for some distance below the bottom of the opening in the fill.

The background of the panel, above the borders, was painted black, and over this is green. It is not certain whether the green represents the zone in which the figures stood, or whether the black had been thinly covered with azurite which has become green, as has been found to be the case in several of the paintings of the Parecclesion.

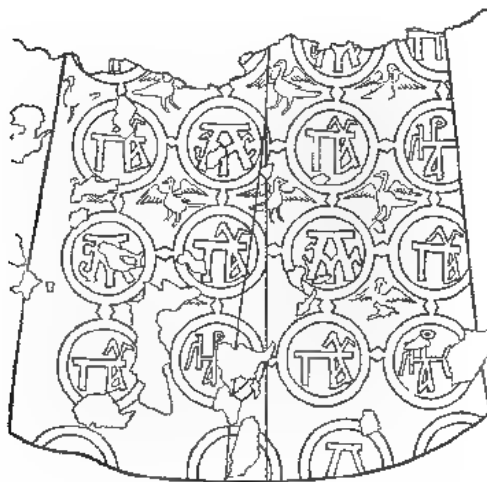
The upper halves of the two portraits

<sup>27</sup> It should be repeated, however, that no serious work of cleaning and restoration has been done here at the present writing.

<sup>26</sup> Probably St. Cosmas of Mayuma who is paired with St. John of Damascus in the pendentives of the dome of the Parecclesion. See, Underwood, "Second Preliminary Report," *op. cit.*, fig. 7, and p. 179 f.



were destroyed when the upper part of the back of the arcosolium was removed to make way for the small window. Hence, all that now remains (and in an uncleaned state at present writing) are the lower parts of the garments, from the feet to a point between the knees and the hips. The tunic, or undergarment, worn by the figure at the left<sup>28</sup> is of a grayish stuff decorated with an all-over pattern of flowers and leaf-forms. Small vermillion flowers, with seven small petals and a dot in the center, appear at more or less regular intervals. Leaves of yellow and, possibly, white, are also laid on the gray. Over this garment, the figure wore a mantle which is parted down the center and hangs at the sides. This is painted dark red-violet with circular ornaments of gold.



The figure at the right is dressed in a long, heavy garment, apparently split down the center, that reaches to the feet. This robe is of brilliant red color, perhaps vermillion, and is covered by a pattern in gold leaf that is composed of monograms within medallions,<sup>29</sup> in vertical and horizontal rows, which are linked

<sup>28</sup> This personage should be the man, in court attire, who, presumably, is also represented as a monk on the jamb at the left.

<sup>29</sup> Monograms are known to have been used as part of an all-over pattern in imperial textiles. The seventh-century textile from Liège, reproduced in Ebersolt, *Les arts somptueux de Byzance* (Paris, 1923), fig. 17, bearing the

together by small lozenges (see text illustration). In the cusped forms between the medallions are small heraldic birds with outspread wings. The medallions, which are inscribed with a compass, are .098 m. in diameter. The characters that form the monograms, the borders of the medallions, and the lozenges that link them, all were first painted with a yellow mordant and then gilded. Many flecks of gold leaf still adhere to the painting. The borders of the medallions measure .011 m. in width.

Three horizontal rows of four medallions, and the lower part of a fourth, still survive. Within the twelve complete medallions three different monograms are distinguishable. The one most frequently recurring (six times) is based upon a large letter Π to which the letters Α, Α, Γ, Ο, and Υ are attached. This is the monogram of the house of the Palaeologoi, of which other examples are known.<sup>30</sup> A second monogram is represented three times, but each example is indistinct and not once completely preserved. The monogram seems to be composed of the letters Ρ, Α, Ο, and Α.<sup>31</sup> The third monogram is represented three times among the twelve complete medallions and twice in the row of fragmentary ones above. It would appear to consist of a large α to which small sigmas are attached at the sides.

In what remains of the first and third vertical rows this last monogram alternates with that of the Palaeologoi. The second row shows all three in succession,

monogram of the emperor Heraclius, is a red fabric with the pattern in yellow as is the case in the Palaeologan costume painted in the tomb of the outer narthex at the Kariye Cami.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Th. Makrides, *Ἀνέκδοτα βυζαντινὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ Μουσείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, in *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, VIII (1931), pp. 329-337, where three Palaeologan monograms, on sculptured reliefs now in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, are illustrated in figs. 6-8. See also, the book cover from Grottaferrata, Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, fig. 52, p. 111.

<sup>31</sup> On the basis of these letters, the monogram is possibly that of the Raoul family.

and the fourth alternates the Palaeologan monogram with that which contains P, A, O, and A.

These rather well preserved monograms help to clarify the forms of the two which Rüdell saw, probably very indistinctly, on the costume of the woman in the arcosolium of the east bay of the Parecclesion, and which he sketched in a tentative and rather uncertain manner.<sup>32</sup> One can see that in all probability one of these was the monogram of the Palaeologoi, which Rüdell copied with only a slight error, while the other reproduced the monogram which is based on the letter A in the arcosolium of the outer narthex.<sup>33</sup> This would establish a kinship between these two persons who were buried in the arcosolia of the Kariye Camii. The monogrammed costume in the tomb of the narthex was, doubtless, part of the ceremonial vestment of the same person who is portrayed in monastic habit in the reveal of the tomb, immediately to the right. Since this latter portrait is that of a woman (whose name in religion was Athanasia), it is safe to state that the monograms, like those on the costume in the Parecclesion, again appear on the costume of a woman.<sup>34</sup>

In converting the window of the fourth bay of the narthex into a tomb, the original, early fourteenth century mosaic ornament in the soffit of the arch was left intact (fig. 15). Consequently, this arcosolium contained no images in its arch. Originally, the window frame was probably set slightly beyond the outer limits of the mosaic which has a width, from the interior surface of the wall, of .45 m. Apparently this was not considered to be

of sufficient depth to accommodate a sarcophagus, and the inner face of the exterior fill (the back of the arcosolium) was placed some .20 m. nearer the outer face of the wall, thus achieving a depth for the niche of .60 m. The gap between the outer edge of the mosaic and the inner face of the back of the arcosolium was filled with plaster and painted with an ornamental band consisting of a folded ribbon pattern, in green and orange yellow, similar to the motif used in the shallow reveals of the lunettes in the Parecclesion. In the section of this ornament illustrated in Figure 15 it can be seen that a portion of the painted plaster of the back of the arcosolium was left *in situ* when the upper part of the Byzantine fill was removed in order to construct the small Turkish window. This supplies proof that the original window had been entirely filled in constructing the Byzantine arcosolium, and that the tympanum of the arcosolium had been decorated with frescoes. The tympanum, whose field was painted black, was surrounded by a red border, in the angle formed by the back and the soffit, and this was edged at each side by a white line. As was noted above, the lower part of the back of the arcosolium still exists, below the small window, and there is every likelihood that it still retains the lower parts of the portraits of the deceased. It is to be hoped that the jambs, below the cornice level, will also yield painted portraits. It has been ascertained that paintings still exist on the lower part of the back wall of the tomb in the second bay of the narthex, to the north of the entrance door. In this tomb, the treatment of the soffit of the arch is the same as that just described in the tomb of the fourth bay.

Three mosaics still exist on the walls of the nave of the church, as has long been known.<sup>35</sup> These are framed panels,

<sup>32</sup> *Supra*, p. 275 and note 12.

<sup>33</sup> Compare the sketch of Rüdell, *op. cit.*, p. 13, with our text figure, p. 281.

<sup>34</sup> The only reference in Codinus (*De officialibus*, p. 13, Bonn ed.) to the use of what may be presumed to be monograms on costumes of court officials, is found in his description of the costume of a despot: "His *aer* has the wearer's names embroidered in gold thread." Codinus, however, does not describe the apparel of ladies of the court.

<sup>35</sup> Two of these were visible in Schmutz's time and were published by him: *op. cit.*, pl.

placed in the midst of the marble revetments below the cornice. One is a splendid mosaic of the Dormition in the west wall of the nave between the lintel of the central door and the cornice. The other two are narrow vertical panels, placed on the western faces of the two piers that flank the great arch of the bema at the east. These last two, which must have formed the terminal icons of the iconostasis, present the standing figures of Christ, at the left, and the Virgin and Christ Child, of the Hodegetria type, at the right. During the season of 1956 work on these three mosaics was taken in hand by the staff of the Institute, but only two of the panels, the Dormition and the Virgin and Child, were completely cleaned and repaired by the end of the season.

As it was before work of restoration began, the mosaic of the Virgin and Child, together with the marble relief sculptures that surmount it, is illustrated in Figure 16. It was obvious that much of the tessellated surface was lost, especially in the gold background surrounding the figure. These areas of loss had been plastered over and painted a very dark blue gray. Only on close scrutiny could it be noticed that the Virgin held the Child in her arms, for most of the Child's figure appeared to be missing or covered

over. When the plaster was removed, however, it was found that the figure of the Child was still largely intact, and that the painted setting bed in the background still existed. The head and shoulders of the Child, however, presented extremely difficult problems of cleaning, for those areas had been covered, not by the soft lime plaster used elsewhere in the panel as a covering material, but by a concrete made of fine sand and Portland cement.

In its final state, the mosaic is illustrated in Figure 17. The result of this work is the addition of still another masterpiece of Palaeologan art to the treasures contained in the Kariye Camii. Despite the losses in the field of the mosaic and in the footstool on which the Virgin stands, it emerges as one of the most exquisite mosaics of the epoch in its beauty and grace of line, the high quality of its execution, and the tenderness of sentiment expressed between mother and child.

The inscription, Μ(η)τρ(α) ©(εο)ϑ(ε) ϣ(ι)λδ(α) τοῦ ἀγ(ι)ο(ῦ) τ(οῦ) ϣ(ι)λδ(οῦ) ϣ(ι)λδ(οῦ),<sup>68</sup> is intact, in tesserae of black glass, on the left side of the head, and in black paint on the red ground of the plaster setting bed at the right, where the tesserae had been scraped out.<sup>67</sup> The inscription of Christ is also partially extant in tesserae at the left, above the Child's head.

The Virgin is, as usual, dressed entirely in blue. The maphorion is edged with gold, bears small golden stars on the forehead and shoulders, and is fringed at her left shoulder in gold and red. The Child is clad in golden raiment with a *clavus* of red, in two thin lines. The highlighting for the gold is in silver tesserae and the shadows in yellowish brown. The narrow edge of the footstool was studded with green and red gems.

<sup>68</sup> The same inscription appears also in the mosaic of the Virgin (Blachernitissa), above the entrance door in the outer narthex. See Schmit, *op. cit.*, pls. 54, 55.

<sup>67</sup> Here and there these letters have been somewhat reinforced in tempera paint.

68 (nos. 170, 171). While the building was still in use as a mosque, these two panels, at each side of the arch of the bema, were concealed by wooden shutters. The third mosaic, the panel of the Koimesis above the entrance door, had been covered with plaster, painted in imitation of marble revetments, until 1929 when the Evhaf uncovered and superficially cleaned it while carrying out structural repairs in the Kariye Camii (J. Ebersolt, "Une nouvelle mosaïque de Kahrié-djami," *La Revue de l'art*, 55 [1929], pp. 83-86; "Trois nouveaux fragments de mosaïque a Kahrié-djami," *Ibid.*, 56 [1929], pp. 163-166). The best reproductions of this mosaic, to date, are those in H. E. del Medico, "La mosaïque de la κοίμησις à Kahrié Djami," *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), pp. 123-141 (ten figures), but all of the various dates to which he has ascribed it are much too early. There can be no doubt that it is an early fourteenth-century work.

The one piece of mosaic art of monumental proportions in the Kariye Camii is the panel of the Deesis (fig. 18) that covers the eastern wall of the esonarthex beneath the southern dome.<sup>38</sup> This great panel presents the colossal figures of Christ and the Mother of God<sup>39</sup> with two suppliant figures in *proskynesis* in the lower corners.

Before work of restoration was begun,<sup>40</sup> almost all parts where mosaic tesserae had been lost, as well as the two small figures in the lower corners, had been covered with plaster. Indeed, the lower half, and extensive areas of background in the upper half, were simply a plaster surface painted a dark gray-blue.

<sup>38</sup> This mosaic is reproduced here, in Figure 18, for the first time in its restored state. For its prior condition and the relation of the panel to its surroundings, see the measured drawings of Rüdell, *op. cit.*, pls. 7 and 17. Photographic reproduction of the upper part of the panel, also in its prior state, can be found in Schmit, *op. cit.*, pl. 60. For a preliminary discussion of the discoveries made in the course of stripping the covering plaster from the panel, and illustrations of its various parts in the early stages of its cleaning, see P. A. Underwood, "The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Cami at Istanbul," *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed., K. Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), pp. 254-260 (11 illustrations). In that article, the author presented the evidence for the identification of the two newly-discovered figures in the lower corners, and proof that the panel, which had often been dated, in whole or in part, in the early twelfth century, is an integral part of the mosaic decorations in the church carried out under the patronage of Theodore Metochites in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Further comments on the progress of work on this panel are given by the author in "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1954," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10 (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), p. 295 f.

<sup>39</sup> The figure of Christ measures 4.19 m. in height; that of the Virgin, 3.73 m. The panel is 4.83 m. high and 4.32 m. wide.

<sup>40</sup> Preliminary work began in the summer of 1953. Scaffoldings, which covered the lower half of the panel, as well as the problems involved in cleaning, consolidating, and treating the setting bed, delayed completion of the work until the summer of 1956. Especial gratitude is due the four members of the staff who, at different times, were responsible for various aspects of the restoration: Ernest Hawkins, Laurence Majewski, Jean Mersinye and Gani Makridis.

The exposed mosaic surfaces, including the heads of Christ and the Virgin, had, moreover, been covered with whitewash which was still firmly lodged in all the interstices of the tessellated surface. After carefully stripping all overlying plaster, it was found that the painted setting bed, from which the tesserae had been removed, was still preserved to a very great extent. The painting on the setting bed, which is red in the background, beneath the gold, and blue in the two main figures, had been whitewashed before the plaster covering was applied. Much of the setting bed was found to be in a badly crumbled state, and long, tedious hours were required to consolidate it by the insertion of new plaster in all the thousands of cracks and pittings, while taking care to avoid covering any of the original paint on its surface. The whitewash was carefully removed from the paint by gentle scraping with small sharp instruments and by washing with moistened cotton swabs, thus restoring as much of the original brilliance of the painting as possible.

In only four fairly extensive areas was the plaster of the setting bed itself destroyed: a relatively small area well above, and slightly to the right of the nimbus of the Virgin; another extending from the right edge of the figure of Christ to the right hand border, half way up the panel; a very irregular strip running the length of the kneeling figure in the lower right, thereby destroying the back part of the head and much of the shoulder;<sup>41</sup> and a large area in the lower left corner including the lower parts of the figure of the Virgin and of the figure kneeling at her feet. In some of these, small areas of the masonry of the wall, behind the mosaic, were laid bare, thereby revealing the fact that the wall was neither homogeneous, nor of fourteenth-century date, but made, in part at least,

<sup>41</sup> The contour of the back of the head, however, was preserved in the painted plaster of the background.

of masonry which we have come to recognize as typical of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The bare setting bed is a textured surface, since it consists of the imprints of all the individual tesserae that had fallen out or been removed. The larger areas of new plaster, with which the lost areas of setting bed were filled, were, therefore, given a similar texture, but in a more schematic treatment, to suggest the direction of the rows of tesserae and blend somewhat with the original surfaces around them. These new surfaces were then painted in the same colors as those around them, or in neutral colors that would harmonize with their surroundings, as, for example, in the patch in the lower left corner. The new surfaces were always made to differ from the original in color-value or hue, so that while they take their places unobtrusively in the panel as a whole, they are clearly distinguishable from the original setting bed both in color and texture. Finally, of course, the surfaces that still retained their mosaic tesserae were thoroughly cleaned and the loose tesserae reset.

Now that the setting bed is laid bare, it can be seen (fig. 18) that the background of the panel was executed in two principal operations. The plaster in the background of the left side, which contains the figure of the Virgin, overlaps that of the right side at the joint in the plaster that rises along an irregular course between the two figures. This joint can be clearly traced throughout most of its length, but especially in the lower third of the panel. This is of some significance in the dating of the panel for it proves that the figure in the lower right, who is known from the inscription above her head to be a Palaeologan personage, was actually executed before the figure in the lower left which represents a personage of the Comnene dynasty. This evidence should remove all doubt

that the panel as a whole is of fourteenth-century date.

The figure of Christ was found to be inscribed 'Ο χαλκίτης, and is thus an adaptation of the Christ of the Chalke Gate, perhaps recalling in its pose the mosaic which replaced an earlier statue above the main gate of the imperial palace and played such an important rôle during the period of iconoclasm.<sup>42</sup> The chiton, which is exposed at the breast and in the sleeve and shoulder at the left, is executed in bluish violet glass tesserae, of three principal values, with the drapery accents in black. On the shoulder of the garment, the *clavus*, which retains only a few of its tesserae, was executed in single rows of red glass at the edges, between which were lines of gold, amber colored glass, and black, set in plaster that had been painted yellow. The himation, which covers the rest of the body, is made of blue glass in five color values, with accents and drawing in black. The crossed nimbus of Christ is bordered by two rows of red glass, the color of sealing wax. The arms of the cross, which are represented in perspective as though seen from the right and below, are of silver glass bordered by single rows of red glass. The Virgin is clad entirely in blue garments of glasses consisting of exactly the same color values as those used in the himation of Christ.

The crowned figure of the sebastocrator Isaac Comnenus, son of the emperor Alexius Comnenus, is depicted in the lower left corner of the panel where he kneels near the feet of the Virgin. He is identified by the inscription above him as follows: 'Ο υἱὸς τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου βασιλέως | 'Αλεξίου | τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ | 'Ισαάκιος | ὁ πορφυρογέννητος.<sup>43</sup> The head, crown, and hands are remarkably well preserved in mosaic tesserae, but only limited areas of his outer cloak still exist in mosaic at the shoulder and beneath the hands. The

<sup>42</sup> Cf. "Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute: 1954," *op. cit.*, p. 296.

<sup>43</sup> "The son of the most high Emperor Alexius Comnenus, Isaac, the Porphyrogenite."

dome of the crown is of blue-violet glass. Around the base is a band of gold set with alternate red and green gems, of round and lozenge shapes. Between the gems are four large pearls. The base of the crown is surmounted by a golden semicircle in front bordered with single rows of red glass. In its center is a semicircle of green, while the border around it is studded with alternating round gems of red and blue with two pearls between them.

The sleeveless cloak seems to have been fastened only at the neck, and to have been parted down the center. The hands emerge from this opening. The field of the garment is of the same blue-violet glass that was used in the domed top of the crown. It was decorated with a lozenge pattern formed by double rows of gold. Within each unit was a simplified fleur-de-lis. Below the hands, where the cloak is widely separated, the inner lining of the garment is revealed. The field of the lining was executed in gray marble tesserae with lines of light blue glass. This treatment is comparable to that used in indicating the fur linings (possibly ermine) of the cloaks of the man and wife in the frescoed arcosolium in the east bay of the Parecclesion (cf. fig. 10). In an area of the garment that is preserved only in the setting bed, immediately to the left of the figure's right hand, the lozenge pattern of the garment is interrupted by a large square which doubtless records the presence of a tablion as part of the decoration of the cloak.

Isaac's presence in a fourteenth-century mosaic at the Chora can be accounted for as a commemoration of his past association with the church where, in his youth, he had built his own tomb and provided it, among other items, with images of himself and his parents. Later in life, Isaac removed his tomb to a monastery which he founded.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> For further notes on this subject, see P. A. Underwood, *The Deisis Mosaic in the Kahrie Cami at Istanbul*, *op. cit.*, pp. 254, 257 f.

In the lower right corner, in an inferior position to that of Isaac Comnenus, and somewhat isolated from the other figures in the panel, is a severely damaged and modest figure dressed in the costume of a nun. The inscription above her, which is partially preserved in the painting of the setting bed, records her title and her name in religion, and once also recorded her relationship to an emperor of the Palaeologan house.<sup>45</sup> Three lines, and part of a fourth, now remain of this inscription, but it must have been preceded by others which have been completely lost. The extant portion of the inscription reads:

. . . [Ἀ]νδ[ρον]ίκου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου ἡ κυρὰ τῶν Μονγολίων Μελάνη ἡ μοναχὴ.<sup>46</sup> In dealing with the identification of the nun Melane in a previous article, the author construed the inscription as referring to her as foundress, or patroness, of the Church of the Theotokos τῶν Μονγολίων. The inscription, however, can just as well be regarded as referring, not to her monastic title, but to her civil title as the Lady, or Queen, of the Mongol peoples.<sup>47</sup> In either case, however, the personage referred to should be identified as Maria Palaeologina, half sister of the Emperor Andronicus II, natural daughter of Michael VIII Palaeologos, who was twice betrothed and once married to Mongol Khans.<sup>48</sup> It is she, also, who acquired the property of the Monastery of the Theotokos Panaghiotissa, conferred the vocable of Theotokos of the Mougou-

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258 f., and text fig. B, p. 257, where the inscription and its reconstruction are discussed.

<sup>46</sup> . . . of Andronicus Palaeologos, the Lady of the Mongols, Melane the nun.

<sup>47</sup> G. Moravcsik, "Sprachreste der Türkavölker in den byzantinischen Quellen," *Byzantinoturcica*, II (Budapest, 1943), p. 169, cites the texts in which the Mongols are referred to as Μονγούλαιοι.

<sup>48</sup> This identification was proposed in the article cited above in notes 38 and 44. Her title is sometimes given as ἡ ἐψηλοτάτη δέσποινα τῶν Μονγολίων (*Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, I [ed. F. Miklosich and J. Müller], p. 312).



lion upon its church, and regarded herself as its foundress.

To be identified with the person referred to in the inscription, the candidate must fulfill the following conditions. She must be a kinswoman of Andronicus II or Andronicus III, Palaeologos, most likely the former, for the mosaics of the Chora were executed before the younger Andronicus became emperor. She must have been either allied in some important way with the Mongol peoples,

<sup>49</sup> Steven Runciman, *Classical Review*, VII, no. 1 (1957), p. 86, in a short review of the work cited above in note 38, expressed doubts regarding the identification of the nun Melane.

<sup>50</sup> The author is indebted to his colleague Mr. Cyril Mango for calling his attention to a manuscript of the Four Gospels, now lost, but formerly in the monastery of St. John the Fore-runner, near Serres (Macedonia), which contains a colophon consisting of a dedicatory poem composed by a Maria Commene Palaeologina, the most pious lady (*θεσιπύνης κυράς*) and Queen of the whole East (*ἡ τῆς Ἑλλάς βασίλισ τῆς ἀπάσης*). In it she states that she offers the holy book, as a queenly gift, to the venerable house that "every man is wont to call Chora," and that she found the book "in this foreign land." The text of the poem, with a description of the manuscript (location now unknown), was

or associated with the Church of the Theotokos of the Mougoulion, or both. Further, the letter M should have been the initial letter of her given name if, in choosing Melane as her monastic name, she was to conform to the almost universal practice of keeping the given initial.<sup>49</sup> The one person who fulfills all these qualifications is Maria, half sister of Andronicus II, Lady of the Mongols, and foundress of the Church of the Theotokos of the Mougoulion.<sup>50</sup>

published by P. N. Papageorgiou, *Αἱ Σέπται καὶ τὰ προάστεια, τὰ περὶ τὰς Σέρρας καὶ ἡ μονὴ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου*, BZ, III (1894), pp. 325-329. Among the four Marias suggested by Papageorgiou in attempting to identify the lady in question, the Despoina of the Mongols is omitted. He seems to favor her identification as Maria Commene (d. 1439), daughter of Alexius IV, Comnenus, emperor of Trebizond, third wife (1427) of John VIII, Palaeologos. Th. Schmit, *op. cit.*, p. 44, adopts this identification. It is true that the Comnenes of Trebizond styled themselves as emperors (or empresses) "of the whole East" (*πάσης Ἀνατολῆς*); on the other hand we find no record of a Maria who was empress of Trebizond. The phrases with which Maria characterizes herself in the poem, however, would seemingly be more appropriate to the Despoina of the Mongols.